1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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292 793 539 avenge. At midnight the ɦɔɔ′ would come, blowing a snailshell trumpet; those who had not eaten of the paca's flesh must climb a certain species of tree, peeling the bark behind them.

When the hunters returned, the woman recounted to her husband what had occurred, but he answered that this was nonsense; perhaps an old lover had visited her. She then tried to warn her sister-in-law, who replied that she was obviously in a good humor because she had given birth to a male child. Her brother paid her no attention, either. Then, before nightfall, she tried to find a tree of the species stipulated by the ɦɔɔ′.

At midnight the ɦɔɔ′ left their mountain cavern, blowing "tĭu-tĭu" on their horns and each one yelling to his own taste. The woman immediately tried to awaken her companions: they did not move, even when she spilled dripping resin from a torch on them. She bit her husband to arouse him, and finally he followed like a sleepwalker. The two climbed up with the infant into the tree selected, peeling the bark behind them. Soon they heard the cries of the rest, who were all massacred by the ɦɔɔ′. At daybreak when the family returned to camp they found nothing of their companions except their hammocks. Then they returned to the maloca, where they told what had happened.

a) [Continuation of *a* and *b*] Conscious of disaster, the Tukuna, counseled by an old shaman, made a clearing exclusively for the planting of peppers. When the fruits were ripe, they gathered them and went to the cavern of the ɦɔɔ′. There they closed the entrance with stakes of paxiuba barriguda, leaving only one opening, where they lighted a great fire. Into this they threw an enormous quantity of peppers, so that the fumes would penetrate the cavern.

Soon a great racket arose from the interior; the Tukuna yelled inside for those among the ɦɔɔ′ who had not eaten human flesh to come out, and thus it happened: there appeared čerʲ'ne playing the turtleshell drum, which was his invention, preceded by a few other ɦɔɔ′ playing their bamboo horns (kɔ''iri). These were allowed to depart in peace, and they quickly entered another cavern close by, for another part of the underworld. Afterward, two bĕru′ [female butterfly demons] also approached the exit, lamenting and attempting to smother the fire with their enormously elongated breasts. Then they recalled their homes in the mountains, singing their names [see p. 13]. The female demon vaiči'navĕ also arrived, dripping wet as always, and fell upon the fire in order to put it out with the moisture from her body.

All the ɦɔɔ′ who had eaten human flesh, and whose masks for this reason bear even today a red stripe of urucú in front, died. When the noise within the cavern had ceased, the Tukuna ordered one of their servants of the Yágua tribe to enter; he did not return because some of the ɦɔɔ′ were still alive and killed him. They again smoked out the cavern, ordering another servant inside to verify the effect. This one walked around the cavern, observing well, and then came out to announce that all the ɦɔɔ′ were dead. The Tukuna contemplated the bodies carefully, noting all the details, and later copied the ɦɔɔ′ in their costumes.

292 ● 287 [821] The costumes are made from the *liber* [fibrous bark] of certain species of *Ficus* (l.g., tururí), whose name in Tukuna is not "aichama," as written by Ribeiro de Sampaio and others following his lead, but, according to their quality, pëyl, nu''ë'vĕ, or na'i''či. The first two species have a dark brown inner bark, but the third is white. A log some twenty centimeters in diameter and of the desired length is cut, and the inner and outer bark are removed by beating with a small, flattened muirapiranga club that has no cutting edge. The bark is peeled off from the wood by being turned inside out, like a glove, ending up in the shape of a tube. Care is taken during this task lest the sun strike the section, which would make the inner bark brittle; for this reason some palm fronds are made into a shelter over the place of work. Also, the presence of children is not permitted, since this would result in prolonged rains. The inner bark, which separates easily from the outer bark, is washed and stretched out to dry. Most of the time the tube is opened so as to form a rectangular piece, which is more easily worked, but a garment may also be made from the whole tube itself.

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539 cries at the onset of summer]. When the elder brother again came to visit him, the younger said "Now I shall fly to the mountains of the Lower Amazon! ĉa/vina vɔ:'e! tə-tə-tə-tə vɔ:'e!" ["My sister-in-law, plant! Plant!"]. With this, he rose and flew away.

[173] There are noteworthy differences in the version of this legend given to me in 1929 by "Captain" Felix. The explanation of the mutilation of Orion's leg is quite different from that given me by my informants in 1941 and 1942. (See legend, "The Errors of čimjdyuĕ'.")

wĭkĭča (Orion)[4]

Two brothers found themselves deep in the jungle at the foot of a tree where there was a basket containing cooked potatoes. The elder of the two passed it by, but the younger could not resist temptation and ate one of the tubers. That night as they slept, the demon aguri [(?) unknown to my other informants], who owned the basket, came through the jungle shouting, "Where is my potato?" And from the younger brother's stomach came the reply, "I am here!"

The elder brother sprang up and tried to wake the other, but the younger slept as though dead, not even stirring when the former poked him with a blazing firebrand. Then the elder hid in the loft of the shelter, while aguri came and tore off a leg from the sleeping brother, taking it with him to devour. After his departure, the sleeper awoke and, seeing the bloody stump, exclaimed, "Brother, the bats have eaten my leg!" The other answered, "It was not bats but the demon aguri, whose potatoes you ate!"

Then the younger asked his brother to make him a club and, carried on the latter's back, left the shelter. While they were going through the jungle, an agouti ran in front of them, and at once the younger brother asked to be let down. He hopped after the agouti—on one leg only, but just as quickly as he could have done with two—and killed the little creature with his club. He cut off a small piece of meat from the kill, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother. After they had gone on a while, a deer sprang up, which the cripple killed in the same fashion. Again he cut off only a small piece of the game, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother.

When they arrived home, his [the younger brother's] wife was vexed at the smallness of the pieces, but her husband ordered her to erect a huge smoking-grill with a bonfire kindled under it. Then he unwrapped the meat and threw the bits to the woman; instantly they became so large that they completely covered her.

Afterward he ordered that they carry him again to the jungle, where this time he killed a tapir. He waited beside the kill for the buzzards to come, and when they had all gathered, he said to the king of the buzzards, "I killed this game for you, but now you must take me with you to the upper world!" Then the buzzards took him with them to the upper world, where he can still be seen today: wĭkĭča (Orion).

The Family Transformed into Jaguars

An old man set out with his wife and several other men, I know not whither—I think toward the underworld. The old man taught the others a magical trick: whenever he shot an arrow high into the trunk of a tururí tree,[5] a white strip of bast the breadth of a palm would detach itself and peel down the trunk all the way to the ground. Each person selected a piece, stretched it, and painted it with black spots in imitation of a jaguar's hide, thus making himself a jaguar costume. Putting these costumes on, they turned into jaguars and, as such, coursed through the jungle, killing and eating people; but other Indians discovered the secret and considered how to kill them. Once the old man in jaguar form attacked a group of hunters, but was killed by one of them. His wife overheard them talking about the one who had done the killing, and she resolved to avenge her husband's death. Dressed in her jaguar costume, she pursued the slayer and tore him to pieces.

The old woman's son had two children. One day she went with some hunters to a spot in the jungle where there were some *envieira* trees [*Xylopia* sp.?] on the fruit of which toucans were

[4] Nimuendajú, Tukuna-Indianern, p. 191.

[5] The inner bark of this tree (*Couratari* sp.?) furnishes the material for masquerade costumes.

[314]
[287]

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadema.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tump-line. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de-531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu-[178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre-[173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

The master of the hut then addresses the stranger, and in the hollow ventriloqual tones peculiar to the Ticunas, asks, "Who are you?—Where do you come from?—Are you friend or foe?—What brings you here?" The stranger satisfies these inquiries one after the other; or, more frequently, his visit having only a commercial aim, is content to answer by exhibiting the articles he brings, and which he desires to exchange for the products of Ticuna industry. The arms are then cast aside in order to discuss the value of the goods offered and those wanted; it will be readily understood that the discussion is intermingled with numerous requisitions on the caisuma. The articles of Ticuna industry consist of yucca-flour, blowing-pipes, hammocks, hunting-poison, and coarse cotton goods.

Some young girls with short-cut hair whom we had noticed among the Ticunas led us for a moment to believe that they shared the custom of cropping with the Yahuas; but the information we obtained on this subject disabused us of the notion. The cropped pate of these young girls was only the visible sign of their having attained the age of puberty, and was the complement of the mysterious practice which the tribes of the Plain of Sacramento, and notably the Conibos, call *Schébianabiqui*. The Ticunas name it *Ihiéboah*, an expression which is less humorous than the other, and which may be translated "young girl," from *ihié*, woman, and *boah*, child.

After translating the word, it remains to describe the custom itself.

When the matrons find that a female child has attained puberty, they take possession of the young girl, conduct her in a procession to a hut built in a lonely place for the purpose, shut her up in it after providing some food and a vessel of water, and then leave her for forty-eight hours, the victim of *ennui* or her reflections. At the expiration of this time the matrons come to deliver their prisoner; but before giving her complete liberty, they rub her head with the milky juice of a *ficus*, which instantaneously coagulates, and forms, under the rotatory motion of the palms of their hands, a multitude of little balls, within which is entangled the hair of the young girl. These little balls, which the matrons snatch away one by one for amusement, tear away the hair with them, and make the patient scream with pain; two musicians, with their backs to the entrance of the hut, play an accompaniment to this proceeding on the flageolet and tambourine.

When the head of the victim has been thus completely stripped, the women cover it with a hood of yellow feathers, the shape of which reminds one of a species of toadstool (*Boletus*); in the centre of this is fixed a plume of feathers from the tail of the ara. Thus accoutred, the young girl, frightened and crying, is first led round the village, and then conducted in succession to the river-side and the forest, continually followed by the matrons, who whip her roughly with green boughs in order to harden her against the trouble to come.

After several hours of wandering in this manner, and an indefinite number of draughts of caisuma which the young girl is forced to drink, they introduce her into a hut where a new hammock has been slung for the purpose. Utterly broken down with fatigue, drunkenness, and the switchings so unsparingly administered, she tumbles into the swinging net and immediately falls into a profound sleep. In the meantime, the assembled nation celebrates, with games and a remarkable consumption of fermented liquor, the Ihiéboah fete.

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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however, that the idea of a spirit as a beneficent God or Creator had not entered the minds of these Indians. There is great similarity in all their ceremonies and mummeries, whether the object is a wedding, the celebration of the feast of fruits, the plucking of the hair from the heads of their children, or a holiday got up simply out of a love of dissipation. Some of the tribes on these occasions deck themselves with the bright-coloured feathers of parrots and macaws. The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast-feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown. The cinctures of the arms and legs are also then ornamented with bunches of feathers. Others wear masked dresses: these are long cloaks reaching below the knee, and made of the thick whitish-coloured inner bark of a tree, the fibres of which are interlaced in so regular a manner, that the material looks like artificial cloth. The cloak covers the head; two holes are cut out for the eyes, a large round piece of the cloth stretched on a rim of flexible wood is stitched on each side to represent ears, and the features are painted in exaggerated style with yellow, red, and black streaks. The dresses are sewn into the proper shapes with thread made of the inner bark of the Uaissíma tree. Sometimes grotesque head-dresses, representing monkeys' busts or heads of other animals, made by stretching cloth or skin over a basket-work frame, are worn at these holidays. The biggest and ugliest mask represents the Juruparí. In these festival habiliments the Tucúnas go through their monotonous see-saw and stamping dances, accompanied by singing and drumming, and keep up the sport often for three or four days and nights in succession, drinking enormous quantities of caysúma, smoking tobacco, and snuffing paricá powder.

I could not learn that there was any deep symbolical meaning in these masked dances, or that they commemorated any past event in the history of the tribe. Some of them seem vaguely intended as a propitiation of the Juruparí, but the masker who represents the demon sometimes gets drunk along with the rest, and is not treated with any reverence. From all I could make out, these Indians preserve no memory of events going beyond the times of their fathers or grandfathers. Almost every joyful event is made the occasion of a festival: weddings amongst the rest. A young man who wishes to wed a Tucúna girl has to demand her hand of her parents, who arrange the rest of the affair, and fix a day for the marriage ceremony. A wedding which took place in the Christmas week whilst I was at St. Paulo, was kept up with great spirit for three or four days, flagging during the heats of mid-day, but renewing itself with increased vigour every evening. During the whole time the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the older squaws, whose business seemed to be sedulously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boosing. The Tucúnas have the singular custom, in common with the Collínas and Mauhés, of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the girao under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying under this treatment.